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The Guardian, in Need of Subscribers and Money, Celebrates Its 20th Year as a Radical Barometer

By MURRAY SCHUMACH

The Guardian, formerly the National Guardian, last night celebrated its 20th year as a journalistic barometer of the nation's radical storms, convinced that the turbulence of the New Left guarantees the weekly a health future.

Its editors, though far from joyous about its circulation of 28,000—it had some 65,000 before the Korean War and McCarthyism—see in the world of antiwar demonstrations, Negro militancy and student unrest a fertile soil for growth of the tabloid.

"We want to provide a forum for the New Left," said William Rose, acting general manager of the tabloid. "We're Marxist, but we're not a party paper. We try not to be sectarian. We stand for the creation of a new organized radical movement in the United States, which in many ways is now immature."

As Mr. Rose discussed the paper in the converted tenement, at 197 East Fourth Street, where the paper is created around battered desks on two dingy floors, the final preparations were being rushed for last night's sellout affair at the Fillmore Theater, on Second Avenue and Sixth Street.

According to Irving Beinlin, a sort of business manager for the paper, nearly 2,700 tickets, ranging in price from \$2 to \$4 were sold to help out the paper's present deficit of about \$250,000. Major attractions for

the celebrants were such stars of the New Left as H. Rapley Brown, Negro militant, Herbert Marcuse, philosophy professor at the University of California, San Diego, and Pete Seeger, folk singer.

Indicative of the paper's sharp break with its past is the fact that among the 35 staff members and the ruling triumvirate—elected annually by the staff—none was present when the first issue emerged on Oct. 18, 1948, to urge the election of Henry A. Wallace for President on the Progressive party ticket.

Though the offices on the third and fourth floor of the renovated tenement still abound in posters of Marx and Lenin, with an occasional quotation from Mao tse Tung, the emphasis is on posters of the Students for a Democratic Society or the late Ché Guevara, the Cuban revolutionary, or Fidel Castro.

"We feel the New Left generally must have a herent ideology," says Mr. Rose. "This does not mean that

they don't have any ideology. It must move away from its early anti-intellectual and anti-authoritarian bias. I think the S.D.S. is already moving toward a Marxist ideology."

James Aronson, one of the three founders of the paper, who resigned as editor in April, 1967, because of differences that he said were not ideological, evaluated the changes in The Guardian yesterday.

"The paper has narrowed its sights down to the New Left. I endorse the New Left, but we spoke for the entire Left. The present group running the paper kind of mistakes activism for a movement."

Though the present regime, like its predecessor, insists it is not tied to the Communist party, it has come under strong fire at times on charges of following the Communist line.

For example, during the Arab-Israeli warfare of 1967, the paper supported the Arabs. It lost several thousand subscribers and many backers. The paper is still generally in sympathy with the Arab countries and regards Israel as "imperialist," the position taken by both the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

The paper is walking a tight-rope on its policy toward Red China, which has reportedly been in the midst of widespread purge of intellectuals for months.

"China poses a special problem," says Mr. Rose. "Generally we support the Chinese revolution. But there is a great deal we do not know. So we've been cautious."

For all the noise and attention of the New Left, the paper that professes to speak for it has not been under the kind of heavy fire yet that it encountered under the previous regime.

The paper, which sells for 25 cents a copy, or annual subscription of \$10, is corporately known as Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., and every member of the staff owns stock in it, which he or she must surrender upon leaving the paper. The managing editor is Jack A. Smith, who has been ill recently.

"If we ever make money," says Mr. Beinlin, "we'd either lower the price or print more copies."

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